1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

Almost the only attempt by an early writer to give an idea of the nature of the Muskogee terms of relationship is by Stiggins, who says: 601

"All the men of the father's clan or family are called their father, the women are generally called their grandmother, all the men of the mother's family older than themselves are their uncles, being their mother's brothers. All of their own age and under are called their brothers, and all of the old women of their mother's clan are called grandmother or aunt." [a]

This information agrees entirely with what has been presented above.

The ceremonial extension of terms of relationship to clans as a whole is also mentioned by Stiggins. We shall refer to this again when we come to speak of the clan system. 601 614

In spite of the emphasis which Stiggins places on clans in determining the application of terms of relationship, an examination of the usages assigned to them shows that all of the terms not individual (such as the ones used to designate husband and wife) cut across, or at least may cut across, the lines of the exogamous groups. This is, of course, patently true of those applied to grandfather, grandmother, and grandchild, and it is at once evident in the case of that applied to the father since it is used for all of the male descendants of the father's sister through both males and females. The term for "mother" may be bestowed upon a woman not of the mother's clan because it is given to the wives of the father's sister's male descendants, apparently without any clan limitations. Again, if we may trust Morgan, the term "uncle," the mother's brother, is used for the mother's mother's brother's son who can not be of the same exogamous group as the mother's brother. "Brother" and "sister" are used, not only for the children of all of those called "mothers," who are of the same exogamous group, but for the children of those called "fathers," who may be of several distinct groups. The terms for the sister's children are not determined by clan lines because they may be used for the children of the father's brother's daughter. Still less is there an absolute association of the terms resulting from marriage and the exogamous divisions.

It is evident, in other words, that the determining factor in the use of these terms is the relation which the several persons to whom they are applied bears to self, not the relation which they bear to his clan or exogamous group. It is evident, also, that terms are applied to a class for the most part because the individuals composing it are connected with some individual, or small group of individuals, having special significance for the speaker. That this extension of the term is secondary is shown clearly in many cases by the employment of the diminutive suffix which evidently indicates greater remoteness in 601 602.

[a] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

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601 602 the connection. The iki or ikutci are connected with self through the primary iki or father; or because, through marriage, they have been brought in line with other iki. Much the same is true of the other relationships, and it becomes particularly obvious when we examine the associations due to marriage. The "typical" relations for a man appear to be: potca, grandfather; posi, grandmother; iki, father; tcki, mother; pawa, maternal uncle; laha, elder brother; tcusi, younger brother; wanwa, sister; kputci, son; tchusti, daughter; hopwiwa, sister's son (or daughter); hakpati, sister's daughter; osuswa, grandchild; mahe, father-in-law; hoktalwa, mother-in-law; hatcawa, sister-in-law; kaputci, wife's brother; tcukowaki, sister's husband; hatisi, spouse of child. The typical relations for a woman are the same except that the terms used by a man for elder brother and younger brother she applies to her elder and younger sisters, while she has a term, tcilwa, not employed by a man, for all of her brothers, and one term, tchuswa, for a child of either sex. Hatcawa has a wider extension, and, according to Morgan, a new term, ehiwa, is used for the brother's wife, perhaps a mere modification of the word "wife" itself; kaputci is not employed. The tie between an individual and his mother's people is certainly far closer than that between him and his father's people, but the fact is not reflected in the terms of relationship to the extent one would anticipate.

601 184 Although no doubt the terms of relationship employed by the various tribes incorporated into the Creek confederacy differed somewhat not only in the forms of the words but in application it is to be suspected that, as we have them to-day, they have been brought into conformity with Muskogee usage. This should be found particularly the case with Hitchiti and to a somewhat less degree with Koasati and Alabama.

601 My list of Hitchiti terms is incomplete. It is as follows: grandfather, fosi; father, iki (in direct address by children, tati); mother, hki or ki (in direct address by children, watci); mother's sister, hkosi ("little mother"); elder brother, tcayi; younger brother, yakpitci (or yakposi); elder sister (man sp.), funki; younger sister (man sp.), otcabaka; brother (woman sp.), lakfi; elder and younger sisters of woman, same terms as for elder and younger brothers of man; son, hopui; daughter, ostaiki; nephew (and niece?), ohosotci; wife, halki (called by husband in direct address hamuhtci); husband, nakani ("male"); mother-in-law, katamoh. The oldest sister was known as hamuhtaka.

The following diagram illustrates the Koasati terms of relationship, as they were obtained by me at the Koasati village in Louisiana:

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Clanship had an important influence on the relations between men, extending into the smallest matters of everyday life, and much of Creek etiquette was based upon it. Thus a Creek could tell by the attitude of any two members of his tribe toward each other—whether they joked with one another and so on—in what manner they were related. Persons having parents of the same clan used to joke with each other. This "joking relationship" thus included the entire clan of the mother; it also included all of those whose fathers belonged to one's own father's clan and according to Jackson Lewis it included one's own father's father and those women who had married into the father's clan. It was etiquette to talk disparagingly of one's own clan, even in the presence of other members of it, what was said being understood in a contrary sense. On the other hand one must always back up his father's clan and those belonging to it and must speak well of it and of them.

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A similar etiquette extended to objects connected with the clan, particularly the animal from which it was named. I was told that if a person killed a totem animal the people belonging to the clan from which it derived its name would compel him to make them a payment. A man of the Bird clan would say to one who had been shooting birds, "You have killed my parents; you will have to pay me for it," and the other would give him something. The duty of a member of the Wind clan to protect the skunk and rabbit from injury and ridicule has already been mentioned.[86a]

Speaking of the Indians of Tuskegee town, Speck says:

"As descent is traced back to the totem animal itself, it is considered wrong for a man to kill or eat an animal having the form of his totem, as it would be the same as eating his own human relations. Such offenders are nowadays punished by fines which have to be paid to those of his clan who catch him in the act. Furthermore, should one person ridicule or belittle another's totem, he is likely to be taken and fined for wrongdoing by the offended clan. The fine is believed to appease the totem."[87]

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Although the infliction of fines is here spoken of as modern, my own information is to the effect that these observances have, in recent years, been viewed as subjects for jest rather than matters worthy of serious consideration, and it appears that animal names were matters of jest as far back as Adair's time.[88] The custom must certainly have been little more than formal in some cases; otherwise the Deer and Bear clans would have been obliged to abstain from meat almost entirely and the rest of the nation would have been under constant tribute to them. The late Chief Grayson informed me that upon one occasion he killed a fawn and made a cap out of

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[86a] See p. 112. [87] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 113.
[88] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 13.